1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE BASIS OF COMANCHE SOCIETY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONTACTS

The Comanches in the nineteenth century roved the entire southern plains as hunters following the buffalo and as warriors whose raiding parties reached down through the pueblo country deep into Mexico. But the place the Comanche called his was the territory extending from the Wichita Mountains across the plains and streams to the Red River in Texas. There was no strictly defined tribal territory, however; some Comanche camps could be found scattered among the Kiowa villages on the north side of the Wichitas.

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Previous centuries had seen the Comanche in a more northerly location. The earliest white travelers on the northern plains in the eighteenth century had found the Comanches in great numbers on the upper Platte River and its environs. Within three generations, they appear to have vanished from this country, for their whereabouts are reported as unknown to the Americans of the times.[1]

In the southwest during this same period the Comanches had been becoming increasingly frequent visitors to the Spanish territories. In company with the Utes they committed repeated depredations on the Spanish frontier, raiding and destroying Apache haciendas, slaying and capturing Apache men, women and children. Irritated Spaniards with Apache guides marched about the country in fruitless punitive expeditions against the raiders from the north and east. By 1786, however, the Comanches were familiar enough to the Spaniards to be enlisted by the latter as allies in a campaign against the then obstrepterous Apaches.[2]

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their extension southward. We read that,

> Ruxton speaks of a tradition that the Comanche and Shoshoni separated on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo (Colorado) in the edge of the mountains. Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and De Mun, James, and other early sources, all mention the Comanche and "Snakes" as using trails in the edge of the mountains or among the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Arkansas to the Platte. One of the very early mentions of the Comanches out in the plains is in Bandalier where it is

[1] Lewis and Clark, *A History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Philadelphia, 1878), vol. I, pp. 36–37.

[2] A. B. Thomas, *After Coronado* (Norman, Okla., 1932), p. 67; A. Chaves, *The Defeat of the Comanche Indians in 1717* (Historical Society of New Mexico, No. 8, 1906).

A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, 1928), pp. 289–295.

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175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

171 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

173 Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

174 Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation. The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271–287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5–6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304–305.

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Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

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Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

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A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed.

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches.

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

3: Wallace & Hoebel
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[For information on international relations between the Comanche and whites, and the history of such relations, see category 116, pp. 280-331, 338-353.]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 fore the Civil War, but it appears that several trading concerns employed men who combined hunting with trading. There were very few buffalo left by 1852 in the vicinity of Fort Phantom Hill, Texas.[48] A few years later, however, there were great numbers of buffalo in the same vicinity. In 1855, John W. Whitfield, Indian agent, wrote that the Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes were then confined to a district from which the buffalo had almost entirely disappeared, and that they were feeding upon their horses and mules until the number of those animals had fallen below their necessary supply. He recommended that the government furnish them subsistence until they could be taught to support themselves.[49] The Arapahos in 1857 were on the verge of starvation, and their chief told the agent that his people must learn either to work or starve.[50] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in that same year that the game had diminished to the point that many of the Indians were compelled to live by plunder.[51] The Comanches, although feeling the pinch of the diminishing supply, were faring better than their neighbors. The Civil War interrupted temporarily the encroachments on the Plains Indians' hunting grounds, but when the war was over, the slaughter soon was resumed in such proportions as to make that of the earlier period seem child's play.

By 1870 the original great buffalo range had become permanently divided into two sections. The northern herd ranged from about forty-three degrees north latitude through the Powder River country to the British possessions. The southern herd ranged from North Texas to about forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude. This southern buffalo range corresponded almost entirely with the territory held by the Comanches with the exception of the feeding grounds between the South Platte and the Arkansas. In the winter of that year an eastern company experimented successfully with buffalo hides

[48] Clarksville, Texas, *Standard*, May 28, 1853; A. B. Hasson, Post Surgeon at Fort Phantom Hill, "Report," 1852, West Texas Historical Association *Year Book* (1924), I, 75.

[49] Agent J. W. Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 4, 1855, 34 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1*, No. 46, 437.

[50] Robert Miller, agent for the Cheyennes, "Report," October 14, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, No. 60, 432.

[51] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, 296.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

for making leather. By 1872 it became generally known that buffalo hides were marketable, the price being about $3.75 per hide. The railroad lines leading into the plains soon swarmed with "would-be hunters" from the East, excited by the prospect of having a buffalo hunt that would yield a monetary return. By rail, wagon, horseback, and afoot, the hunters poured in, and the slaughter was on.

A number of hunting outfits operating from Dodge City crossed into the northern Panhandle of Texas in the autumn of 1873 in violation of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, made in 1867 between the Federal government and the Indians, reserving the region between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers for an Indian hunting ground. The buffalo hunters, refusing to respect the treaty, established a trading post at Adobe Walls, which action instigated the Comanches to resume the warpath. After a short cessation of activities, the hunters shifted to the southern part of the range. By the fall of 1874 some professional hunting was being done in the southern part of the range, and by 1875 the slaughter was definitely under way in an organized and systematic manner. The slaughter abated during the hot summer months, but as soon as the first cold of autumn started the buffalo south, it was renewed. Destruction of the herds went on at an increasing rate throughout 1876 and 1877. The greatest slaughter came in the winter of 1877–78. More than one hundred thousand hides were taken in the months of December and January on the Texas range.[52] J. N. Atkinson claimed that in Fort Griffin at one time there was a stack of buffalo hides as long as a city block, "as high as a man could reach throwing hides out of a wagon, and so wide that it must have been made by driving wagons down both sides of the pile in stacking."[53] Only a few small herds located in the Yellowhouse, Blanco, and Palo Duro canyons, in the valley of the Canadian River, and along other water courses traversing the Southern Plains were to be found in the winter of 1878–79, and by the end of another year the buffalo were gone.

The buffalo slaughter became an important issue with the public. Opponents fought it for sentimental reasons, or cited the great waste and the renewal of the Indian wars in support of their position. On

[52] W. C. Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 13.
[53] Mary J. Atkinson *The Texas Indians*, 331.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 the other hand, the buffalo hunters, supported by a strong public opinion, insisted that they were rendering a great service in removing the buffalo from the Great Plains. Their position was summed up by General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Southwestern Department, before a joint meeting of the Texas Senate and House of Representatives in 1875. Sheridan argued that it would be a sentimental mistake to attempt to stop the slaughter of the buffalo. Instead of stopping the hunters, he said, the legislature should give them a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks and appropriate money to present to each hunter a medal of bronze with a dead buffalo on one side and a discouraged Indian on the other. He continued in words which reveal clearly the Comanche dependence upon the buffalo:

> Those men have done more in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian [Comanche particularly] question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years. *They are destroying the Indians' commissary* [italics ours]; and it is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will, and for the sake of lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until they have exterminated the buffalo. Then your prairies will be covered with speckled cattle and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of civilization.[54]

The general knew whereof he talked.

[54] John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo*, 113.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

[p. 142-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113) Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram
[175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society
[178] (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p 142-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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175 This dark picture of conflict is tempered
648 somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo,
[728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became
[439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the
[439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38.157-76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79-91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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175 648 439 had been procured from the Spanish. Peaceful trading relations were begun by the Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural products. It seems probable that the French, 175 648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with firearms, also incited them to attack the [721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, [439] the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed. 101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio 439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1946 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.66-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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128 Canonge's translations, though simply presented, show the fruit of patient research into the manner of word formation, characterized in Comanche by a rich use of affixes and of stem composition, while still maintaining a fairly simple inflectional apparatus. Some of the facts were already worked out for Comanche and for closely related languages (e. g. Southern Paiute) before Canonge began his work, but he still had much to do to reach his present fine understanding of Comanche structure and the meaning of each element. He supplemented his general knowledge of the language by careful study of his texts, with the help of Mrs. Riddles and other natives.

The author is to be congratulated on his technique for showing the relation between the native text and the translations. He uses numbers for each word in the native text and marks with the same number the part of the translation corresponding to each native word. This gives a good correlation of the two texts without making the publication impossibly expensive, as is the use of interlinear translation. The linguistically skilled reader, by consulting some of the published work on the structure of Comanche or related tongues, will be able to analyze the material with relative ease; naturally the untrained reader will need more patience to follow the structure but not more than he would need with interlinear translation. A possible criticism is that the literary style of the translation is at times a bit clumsy for trying to parallel the native version strictly.

Canonge uses brief summaries rather than short-phrase titles to the texts.. This will be welcomed by the folklorist concerned with finding "folk-theme" parallels between Comanche and other mythologies, and by the general ethnographer looking for data on particular aspects of Comanche customs. The material is classified into parts, including: Coyote stories, Fairy tales and fables, Humor in ridicule, Manners and morals, Adventure, Obtaining and preparing food.

It is to be expected that the majority of readers will be interested in the content rather than in the specific linguistic form of these texts. They will be able to read right along, simply disregarding the little numbers used for showing the analysis. The latter will be important to the linguist and the student of native story-telling style.

492 In historic times, the Comanche distinguish themselves
175 as one of the tribes which was quick to adopt the use of the horse, becoming accomplished riders, and using this rapid means of movement to hunt the buffalo and in exploits of war.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

COVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

175 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches
726 even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the
175 Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon
101 after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in
101 their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close
contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and
Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Co-
manches must have first learned of these peoples,
and from them too, they may have acquired their
first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to
shift their camps southward and eastward. No
doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtain-
ing mounts, but at the same time they may have
been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to
the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An
added attraction to the south and east were the
plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos
and Picuris. Thus were the rustics from the northern
wilderness introduced to the material refinements of
more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 648
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest.

The first persons against whom the Comanches
displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches
who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos.
As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

175 party struck at Apache rancherías above present
721 Trinidad, Colorado. This event was the opening
648 curtain on several decades of intense hostility be-
tween the Comanches and the Plains Apaches. By
175 1733 the continual hammering of the mountain In-
dians had caused Apache power to crumble in a
wide swath of country extending from eastern Colo-
rado to Central Kansas.

Remnants of the defeated tribes fled to the secur-
ity of settlements in New Mexico where in this same
year, a mission for 130 refugees was established by
the Spanish near Taos. Some of the defeated Plains
Apaches, however, were unwilling to submit to the
discipline of Christianity, and as an alternative they
fled south, out of range of the Comanches who would
exterminate them and the Spaniards who would
civilize them.

175 By 1715 the government authorities in Santa Fe
648 had begun to pay heed to the growing danger posed
by the Comanches. The Spaniards had not fully
realized at this early date that the Apaches of the
plains were being displaced by an even more aggres-
175 sive foe. This point was driven forcefully home,
648 however, when the Comanches with their Ute allies
721 assaulted the Taos district in 1716. Other severe
raids followed each year thereafter, until the Span-
ish governor personally led a punitive expedition
northward to the vicinity of the Arkansas River in
the autumn of 1719. No hostile Indians were en-
countered, but it was definitely established that the
Comanches had filtered through the passes in the
Front Range and had occupied much of the valuable
buffalo country formerly held by the Apaches.

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and taking the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
175 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
721 having realized the gravity of their problems, were
648 more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the
[648] Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[721] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[161] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan
[728] Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

the several Comanche bands which resided on the the eastern limits of New Mexico. 175 648 728

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band). 175 648 728 101 175 101

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, 175 728 648 [643] [431]

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[431]

the Spanish government through the viceroy in Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

[721]

[164]

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

14 [See Category 175, pp. 21-22--Analyst.]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, the intensity of Comanche incursions increased somewhat—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

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175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
175 of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

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[Document I]. Writers, in lauding the accomplishment of Governor Anza in bringing the Western Comanches to terms, have often neglected the fact that a similar peace was also made with the Orientales. 175

The treaty translated below was included in a general report on Indian affairs made by Pedro de Nava, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces (1792-1800) to the Viceroy of New Spain, Miguel Joseph de Azanza. As Nava notes, harmony between Spanish citizens and the Comanches had been maintained up to the time of his writing (1799) with a few minor exceptions. [648]

Originals of Documents I and II rest in the Provincias Internas section of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City. Photocopies of these are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. The remaining five documents are found in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. 113

—Marc Simmons

[p. 18 is blank]

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Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES

October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

[1785-1799]

175 648 728 5th That they should be friends and enemies to those who are ours.

6th That they should declare as their enemies, the Lipan Apaches and that whenever the Comanches attack them, some of them should come to [San Antonio de] Bexar to advise us of the results.

7th That they should request the license of the Governor of Texas when they intend to transfer themselves to the frontier of the Province of Coahuila for the purpose of making war on the Lipan Apaches and the Mescaleros.

8th And that each year a gift should be given to the captains and Indian leaders of the Comanches as a proof and as a manifestation of our good friendship.

Some of the Eastern Comanches have broken away from the main group and have created small disorders and have perpetrated robberies, but without the knowledge of the captains or other Indian leaders of that nation, who themselves have continued to observe in an acceptable manner the conditions of peace since the time of the agreement.

Pedro de Nava

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Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace with us, its members have undertaken on their own initiative various campaigns against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico.

On one expedition which they carried out last July with 95 men commanded by one of their captains called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Dn Juan Bautista de Anza. The original copy of this report is being sent to Your Excellency.

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

175 ent Governor [of New Mexico] Dn Fernando de la
648 Concha to compile a careful and exact record of their operations and successes and to pass this information on to me so that I may inform Your Excellency of all developments.

By these documents and by the facts referred to in various reports which I have sent to Your Excellency, ample demonstration has been provided for the usefulness of the system developed for the destruction of the Apaches who are now caught between two frontiers [those of New Mexico and Texas]. And since these borders are free from the attacks of other enemies, [the settlers] may devote their arms and energies to the principal objective of subduing the
000 Apaches. And if by good fortune it should come about that the Mescaleros in the north should be kept at peace, at least for a little while, I feel certain the Province [of New Mexico] would shortly experience the favorable effects toward which my orders made in the field and at the Presidio [of Janos] have been directed. And my future orders will provide for whatever else may be necessary along this line. With regard to new developments, I will keep Your Excellency informed from Chihuahua.

May God keep Your Excellency many years

Janos, 13 of March of 1788

His Lordship Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola

[To] His Lordship
d. Manuel Antonio Florez

Document Three

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA TO THE VICE-roy Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, May 6, 1793, regarding inter-tribal warfare between the Comanches and other Indians.

THE FOUR nations of the Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Jicarillas who have allied themselves with this Province [of New Mexico] continue without change their good conduct and they remain in harmony with the local settlers. But among themselves they still launch raids, and this stems primarily from the hate which the latter tribes feel for the first.

At the beginning of last winter, the Utes and Navajos got together for a council and they resolved to go and attack the Comanches. They set out immediately and soon encountered a rancheria left unguarded by [Comanche] men who had gone buffalo hunting. They proceeded with little difficulty to destroy it completely, capturing and killing the women and children, and running off the horseherd that was there. When news of this reached the other Comanches, they swore to avenge the offense and raising a considerable war party, they attacked the village of the Utes in a like manner and completely destroyed one of their rancherias, with the result that both [tribes] have suffered almost equal harm from the other.

000 [1793]

175 648 from the other. These acts have been committed outside the Province [of New Mexico].

More regrettable are the consequences which the Province may suffer if the Comanches are not restrained in the just anger which they feel toward the Navajos, because to search out and attack them in their haunts, [the Comanches] will be forced to pass through the center of New Mexico, thus disrupting the tranquil state which has been maintained up to this time.

To try and guard against further harm which may originate [from this situation], since first receiving news of these developments, I have worked constantly to the present day endeavoring through use of means which seem to me most reasonable to bring about a conciliation between the two Nations,[3] all of which must be managed with considerable tact and prudence.

To succeed in this important objective, I have ordered the Navajos through their general, who is a subject with admirable qualities, to gather together all the captives of the Comanche Nation which may be in their power, and that accompanied by the same general and the captains of his retinue, they should conduct [the prisoners] to this Villa [of Santa Fe] to hand them over and to give complete satisfaction to the Comanche general and captains when they reach here.

This same order I have communicated to the Comanches and as a result they have not made any move against the Navajos up to this moment. As soon as they arrive here, as I've already told them, I will notify [the Navajos] who are nearby and I will

take personal charge of the negotiations. Whatever comes of the meeting between the two Nations, I will advise Your Excellency at the first opportunity. 175 648

The Apaches who are at peace at the Puesto de Sabinal asked my license on April 3 to go and collect and prepare mescal which they annually store up. I gave them permission with the express condition that they return by the first of this month to do their accustomed planting. I still have not received word of their return from that place, which is forty leagues from this capital, but I expect it momentarily. 000

May God Keep You,

6 of May of 1793

[Fernando de la Concha]

[To]
His Excellency Conde de Revilla Gigedo

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Document Four

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA to Governor Fernando de la Concha, Chihuahua, August 8, 1793.

I SEE with satisfaction by the official letter from Your Lordship of last July 25, that friendship and good harmony between the allied [Indian] nations and that Province [of New Mexico] continues, and that the Apaches have made new overtures for peace at Sabinal. To continue, the other news of which your Lordship advises me, I find most regrettable: that concerning the campaign carried out by the Comanches against the Pawnees which resulted in the loss of the [Comanche] Captain Hachaxas, and grave wounds for General Ecueracapa.

The measures which Your Lordship took in dispatching what medical aid was available to the [wounded general] seem to me appropriate. And I await further details which Your Lordship may acquire concerning the encounter between those two Nations, as well as news of the results of the settlement of the Apaches at Sabinal.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua August 8, 1793 Pedro de Nava

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Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says. 175 643 [666]

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council. 175 648

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

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Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders.

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them

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648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

Also, they asked that some should come at the first
175 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
648 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I
439 offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.
[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

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Document Seven

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMANDANT General of the Western Interior Provinces, Alexo García Conde, to Facundo Melgares, Governor of New Mexico, with regard to punishment of the hostile tribes of the East, May 11, 1819.

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AS A RESULT of the hostilities perpetrated in the Provinces of the East [Texas and Coahuila] by the Comanches, Taguacanas [Tawakonis], Tagnayaces [Taovayas], and Lipan [Apaches], the Commandant General of the East has initiated a campaign to search out and punish those Indians who can be found in their rancherías. It is to be feared, therefore, that as a result of such operations some of said Indians will flee by way of the outpost of Presidio del Norte [Ojinaga] with the intention of committing hostilities in this province [New Mexico]. To prevent such an occurrence, I have resolved to dispatch from the said outpost, the 20th of next June a unit of 255 men who for a period of 60 days will scout the territory as far as the right bank of the Pecos River.

As a consequence and by virtue of what I have advised the commander of the expedition, Dn Juan Francisco Granados, and so as not to stir up the Western Comanches on the frontier of this province who are observing the peace, you should exercise all

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possible care in avoiding any attack on their rancherias. It should prove useful if you would summon the principal leader of those Indians and make clear to him our plans and our intention to observe good faith with his people. In addition, be sure it is understood that the operations of the troops of this province are directed only toward punishing the Eastern Comanches who threaten us with raids. And explain that in view of all this, it would be well if members of the Western Nation would stay away from the territory where the campaign is in progress so that our troops will not attack them by mistake.

May God Guard Your Excellency

Durango, 11 of May, 1819

Alexo García Conde

To the Interim Governor
of New Mexico
[Facundo Melgares]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

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764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians, and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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The
West Texas Historical Association
Year Book

VOL. XXIX OCTOBER, 1953

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to the YEAR BOOK.

THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

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DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

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and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule, is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 223.

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detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them,

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175 721 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their 175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The 648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions 175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable 721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 101 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called, are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult {173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif- 175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know 173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons 175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent 181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their 175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient 533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to 175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their 101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time imme- 171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers 721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

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By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

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of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resûme my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

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exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages.

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec-

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175 628 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated to its more special use and occupancy.

621 622 175 These three great national parties, are subdivided into captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief, whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

621 175

175 221 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encampment every ten or fifteen days. [231] The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent removals. 175 When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to 202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 643 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal character, than on the investments of office. 175 Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system [642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and [671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compulsion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when [692] imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

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auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity,

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771 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that
175 constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
771 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great
776 Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
753 have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
793 from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

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seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven. 175 771

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem- 175 754

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perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

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The Squaws are [ca. 1818] literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commiseration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

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175
727 [ca. 1818]
complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

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strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration. 175 727

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cavalry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds. 175 726 492 175 492

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant parade through the village mounted and accountred, and bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These 175 726 [714]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 06
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[ca. 1818]

doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance, than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their movements. A private encampment is formed, deep embosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued. They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

The number of mules and horses that these Indians capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
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175 [ca. 1818]
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they 175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally 726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency 175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this 721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and 721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran- 648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them, 175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In 721 the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
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the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche .06
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157 [ca. 1818]
than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
136 into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
000 faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Comanchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[446] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
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[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household economy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience. and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accustomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
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175 [ca. 1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

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Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] 175
cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would 165
call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary 887
accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not 145
relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes
on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the cli- 175
mate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual 165
prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether de- [273]
barred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use
of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their
healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused 000
and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been
equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the
moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more
refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have
been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, where-
as it has been replete with disaster.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824] 192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oct-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

622 624 551 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to [622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, 538 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known 177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
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A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains.

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas).

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover-

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prova de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Come Gral de las Ynters le hase en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varias circumstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin).

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175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will
[726] not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[782] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[784] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone
462 distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

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much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas [Yamparikas]*, who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

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175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?
623
555

[113] [551] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

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aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation?

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

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pleased and content. Through that means and by presenting them with those trinkets which they are accustomed to receiving, by which means he will be able to obtain peace treaties, trade, and communication with them, constant and truthful. That is how much the governor has been able to inquire and investigate the character of this Nation.

Royal Presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, April 30, 1876.

DOMINGO CABELLO.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record.

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2]

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces-

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821.

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928.

[See facing p. 294--Analyst.]

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sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square. Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392-420).

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all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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Petrograph of a figure carrying two lances, points downward (from Kenton, Okla.)

[Facing p. 292]

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175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

551 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 139, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The 701 554 113

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. 128

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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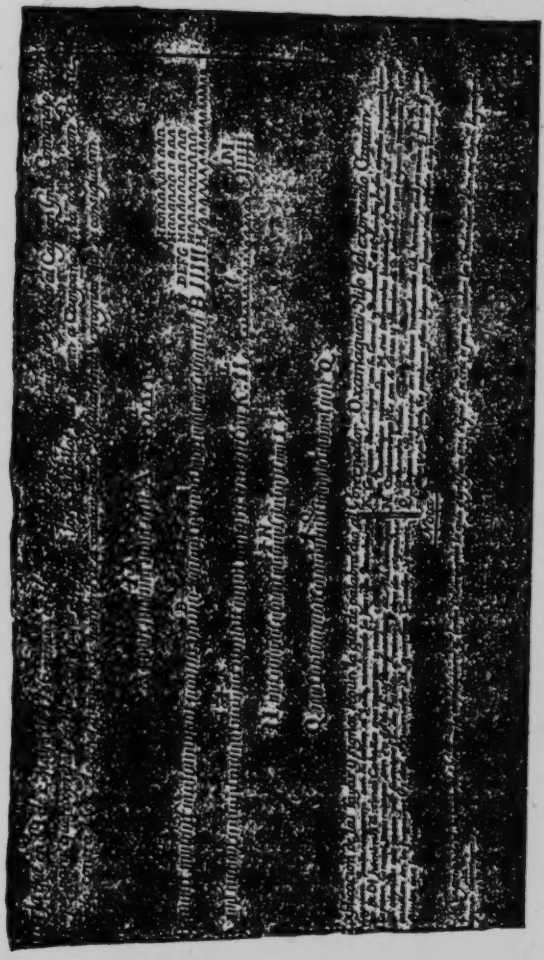

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Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

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175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[11]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[12]

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[113] [11] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[12] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

NOTE

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

NOTICIA

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

175
592
728

found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)."

[113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G.

[171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *caballerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd.

[171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31] Number of Tents.

First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.

Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20

Second

Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange [34]of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6

Third led by Tosacondata

Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

(114)

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubaruh:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . [34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 701 551

Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.	
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son	
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.	
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[36]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[37]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[36] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[37] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly

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175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 224 [789] [621] [222] With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [847] [727] [562] [593] [304] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] [715] [776] [715] [764] [578] [721] [796] Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] [575] 796 [291] [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-mahaging than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 [229] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution:

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1878 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace.

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained.

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

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In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

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Padouca fork. At that time they roamed over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at

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war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa

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since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never

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a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.

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Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

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Federal Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

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LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

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For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)